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The title of regional governor was also awarded by the Paramount Chief to certain of his favoured lieutenants. These promoted lieutenants, with their segments, retained their positions in the residential system unaltered but they were allowed to keep their own captives, a privilege of all regional governors. It seems probable, from incomplete information, that there were about a dozen regional governors of one kind or the other in the Fort Jameson group in 1898.[11] Despite the early date at which some of the regional governors' segments were formed during the migration, they did not expand as rapidly as did the segments led by the chief's queens and lieutenants, and in 1898 they comprised only a small portion of the State. In this respect the Ngoni of southern Nyasaland were organized differently, for there Read writes that the whole country was divided among regional governors, save for a central capital.[12] One of my informants stated that the head of a segment containing more than one village was never known as the lieutenant of his lord but was called, if he were not a kinsman of his lord, by the title regional governor. This is not true to-day, and in view of the large number of present-day commoner villages which claim to have been founded before the conquest, and whose heads are not regional governors, it seems unlikely to have been true earlier. On the other hand, all regional governors to-day are lords of segments containing more than one village, and this may well have been true before 1898 as well.

There were other minor honours similar to the title of regional governor and often awarded to the same people. These were the right to use the royal descent name *jere*, the right to a special praise name *nkhoma*, and the right to wear ox bones as a decoration.[13]

Wiese mentions certain special lieutenants who carried out tasks comparable to those of ministers of State. He describes three officials, one a minister for the interior, apparently responsible for the Paramount Chief's domestic affairs; another a minister of war who was also high priest; and the third a master of ceremonies at national festivals. He says that the ministers carried out these special tasks in addition to their ordinary duties as lieutenants, and gives the names of two of the three, who were the first lieutenants of two major sections.[14] Thus although there was some differen-

[11] See Table VII. The sample used in this table contains more villages founded by regional governors than would occur in a representative sample.

[12] Read, 'Boundaries', p. 16.

[13] Brouwer, *Abiri*, p. 253; Wiese, 'Expedition', p. 479, and 'Geschichte', p. 198.

[14] Wiese, 'Expedition', pp. 469-70 and 'Geschichte', p. 188. These two men were the first lieutenants of segments 14 and 4.

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tiation of function between the senior lieutenants of the Paramount Chief, it is improbable that there were any special political offices outside the residential system.

Read mentions a political hierarchy with various titles.[14] At least in the Fort Jameson group, three of the four vernacular terms she gives were used in connexion with the residential system. The fourth, ~~amanene~~, was used in Zulu for messengers sent by a chief and a dialectical variant of this (~~manyane~~) is so used nowadays at Fort Jameson. They have no executive authority and do not seem to have had any in the past.

Fraser, writing of the Ngoni of northern Nyasaland, says that there were two groups of lieutenants, one composed of men who became Ngoni before the crossing of the Zambezi and which exercised civil power, and the other which included men of more recent incorporation into the Ngoni tribe and which supplied the war leaders. He implies that the war leaders did not take part in the civil administration.

There seems not to have been this distinction between civil and military lieutenants among the Fort Jameson group. Wiese's 'Minister of War', who was referred to as a Commander-in-Chief by other contemporary writers, was a segment head with the same responsibilities towards his people as anyone else. The regiments had leaders responsible for the tactical control of warriors, some of whom were recently incorporated men, and presumably Fraser is referring to them, but his statement that the man often chosen to lead the whole army had no voice in the council conflicts with Elmslie's account of the same place and period. The war leader, Ng'oneno, who is mentioned by Fraser, acted as regent on the death of the Paramount Chief in northern Nyasaland.[15]

The village as such had an importance independent of the size or order of segment of which it was headquarters or by which it was inhabited. There were no special terms for distinguishing the heads of large or small segments, for all were lords or ladies. But a special term[16] was used for a village headman, irrespective of the order of segment of which he was lord, provided he was not a lieutenant who had become head of the village in the absence of agnatic descendants of the founder. The use of a special term may have been an indication of the village headman's importance, part of which derived from the control he exercised over the cattle

[14] Read, 'Tradition', p. 460. cf. her account of the southern Ngoni in 'Ancestorhood', p. 18.

[15] Fraser, *Primitive people*, p. 32. cf. Elmslie, *Wild Ngoni*, pp. 101, 189.

[16] Ankhomo. In Zulu, a small or puny child. cf. Read, 'Tradition', p. 460.

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divination are not well developed among the Ngoni as means of influencing action. The attempt to establish a new county failed for lack of Administrative support. Chiefs still continue to express their rivalries through sorcery, and would-be chiefs still attempt to establish new counties.

When Mpezeni II died, his heir was still young and was out of the country at boarding-school. A minor chief, after quarrelling with one of the dead chief's lieutenants about the funeral arrangements, proposed that the heir should remain at school to finish his education and that meanwhile there should be a regency. However the Administration arranged for the immediate return of the heir.

The rivalry between the Paramount Chief and his minor chiefs shows itself in other less dramatic ways. Thus the Paramount Chief's advisers told me that all cases coming on appeal from the courts of minor chiefs were heard in the Paramount Chief's own court of first instance, and that only if the verdict given there was not accepted was the case referred to the Appeal Court which was held at the administrative centre of the Paramount Chief's county every month. The minor chief's and their advisers told me that cases sent on appeal from them went direct to the Native Appeal Court, and emphasized that this court was composed of several minor chiefs and their councillors, called upon in rotation. In practice, as I observed in the course of my work, sometimes one procedure was followed, sometimes the other.

On the other hand, the minor chiefs and other politically important people support the Paramount Chief in his relations with the Administration. When recently Ngoni thought that the Administration was not treating the Paramount Chief with the respect due to his position, two minor chiefs endeavoured to organize a petition to the Administration on the matter. When the Paramount Chief's deputy was put in prison by the Administration for embezzlement, it was a minor chief who protested most strongly to the Administration. However dissatisfied the minor chiefs and people may be with any particular Paramount Chief, there is little dissatisfaction with the Paramount Chieftainship. This is still the feature of their organization which in Ngoni eyes most clearly marks them off from their neighbours, and which most clearly links them in their present lowly condition to the exploits of their illustrious forefathers.

3. *The chief's advisers*

The men who advise the chief, who enjoy his confidence and his hospitality, belong to a number of different categories. In each

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county the senior lieutenants of the county segment are well-known figures, usually headmen of large villages, and often seen at the chief's house. There are also the lieutenants of the segments of lower order founded for their great wives by successive heads of the county segment, and in particular the lieutenants of the reigning chief's great wife's segment. There are individuals who for some reason or other have become friendly with the chief, and there are those occupying posts paid by the Native Treasury. There are the kinsmen of the chief, including the chief's deputy. All these categories contribute to the circle round the chief which keeps him informed of what is going on in his county, advises him what he should do and travels with him on journeys. The constitution of this group is not fixed and there is no formal council to which persons definitely do or do not belong. An Administrative officer once asked Mpezeni II who constituted the tribal council, and the Paramount Chief is said to have found difficulty in thinking of any names. Not all the people who might be expected to advise the chief do so, for there are always quarrels and preferences within each category. In particular, the lieutenants of regal segments seem to play a comparatively minor part. They do not represent the interests of the county as a whole, as do the lieutenants of the county segment, nor of the reigning chief, as do the lieutenants of his own village. They are the favourites of former chiefs and the segments that they represent are not functionally significant under the present scheme of administration.

In recent years the Administration has endeavoured from time to time to discuss affairs with the chiefs and the four newly appointed Native Authority councillors in isolation from the rest of the tribe.[1] In most situations in which matters of common interest are discussed there is, however, no restriction on who can offer advice to the chief or to the meeting. Any man can stand up and say what he wishes, but unless he is in an important social position people will listen to him attentively only if his counsel seems sound.[2]

It is the custom for a chief to nominate one of his agnatic kinsmen, usually a father's son or father's brother's son, as his deputy.[3] Although this appears to have been a traditional post, I do not know what role was played by an important man's deputy in pre-conquest times. Nowadays the deputy of a chief may help in his various official duties and represents the interests of the chief's agnatic kin as against those of his lieutenants. In village affairs

[1] See p. 151.
[2] See pp. 158f.
[3] *Mnawa*. cf. Zulu *umnawe*, younger sibling.

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the post of deputy is still of significance,[7] but in the life of the county the chief's deputy does not play a great part. One man appointed as chief's deputy went to Southern Rhodesia but no one has been appointed in his place and the chief manages without a deputy.

Another traditional post which still functions is that of chief's messenger.[8] This post is quite distinct from that of district messenger who is an employee of the Administration, and of Native Authority messenger. The district messengers and Native Authority messengers are full-time civil servants, while the chief's messengers are only called upon from time to time and are not paid. The county chief nominates one man for each cluster of half a dozen villages or so in his county to be responsible for informing the village headmen in his cluster of forthcoming county meetings and royal hunts. Sometimes a man who has been nominated accepts his post reluctantly, but it is difficult for him to refuse, and an ambitious man may welcome the appointment for the contact it gives him with his chief.

The royal descent-name *jere* is held by all patrilineal descendants of Zwangendaba's father and by the patrilineal descendants of various other people who were given the name by Zwangendaba or Mpezeni I.[9] Only two county chiefs do not bear this name. People who do not hold it regard all those who do as kinsfolk of the Paramount Chief, and from time to time in the appointment of men to office, the common people have insisted that not all the posts should go to men bearing this name. The Administration has regarded all men named *jere* in the same way, and in its efforts to counter nepotism has made similar stipulations. A simple dichotomy of this kind overlooks the divisions within the royal house and between the agnatic kinsmen of the Paramount Chief and those who have acquired the name by other means. Distant agnatic relationship may imply less identity of interest than close non-agnatic ties. Nevertheless the appointment of councillors and others with non-royal descent names does assist the notion that the people as well as the chief have interests in the common good and share the responsibility of pursuing it.

From time to time efforts are made to create new chieftainships. We have already mentioned one attempt.[10] The initiative comes usually from the junior kinsman of a chief to whom he has

[7] See my 'Village headman', pp. 100-6.

[8] *Lingoni*. cf. Zulu i(li)nxusa, messenger sent by a king or chief.

[9] See Brower, *Affari*, p. 83, for the categories of persons bearing the royal descent name.

[10] See p. 149f.

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651 marriages and for selling beer, and from fines and fees taken in court. In some years there has been a local levy on all men liable for Native tax.

642 The Native Authority, the Native Court and the Native Treasury form a single system of what is essentially local government. The judicial aspect of government has always been to the 693 fore, for the hearing of cases is an activity which has gone on without serious interruption since before the conquest. The first people to be appointed as assessors were in many instances the people who had been hearing cases with the chief for many years. They were joined in this by the councillors, for there was no separation between judicial and administrative organization in pre-conquest times and none had emerged by that time. Since the court clerk needed to be at least partially literate, he was usually a younger man who had been to school but, in some instances at least, he had close kinship ties with those in high office. He acted as a member of the bench as much as the councillors and assessors. In some courts other close supporters of the chief, particularly those who lived near their courts, also attended regularly to hear cases although they were not paid to do so, and in at least one instance a chief paid a regular salary out of his own pocket to a member of his court who was not recognized as such by the Administration.

Thus the court was the nucleus round which the Native Authority grew. The court clerk was employed as secretary to the chief and the Native Authority, and he had charge of the rubber stamps which came to be the new symbols of political power. He toured the county looking for dogs and bicycles without licences, for since he was literate he was considered the man to handle the money accruing from court fines, fees and licences. Sometimes he combined with these duties others that had nothing to do with court work, such as seeing that villages were swept clean or paths hoed. Because of his work in court he was well informed on disputes in the county, and since he made frequent trips to the township so that his accounts could be checked by the Administration, he was [554] well briefed on what was going on there. The office of court clerk came in this way to have a greater importance than its formal duties implied.

Yet in recent years the relative status of the court clerk has declined. The executive, as opposed to the judicial and fiscal, 648 functions of the Native Authority have become more numerous. 645 The activities of the Administration, instead of being confined mainly to tax collecting and the punishment of major crimes, have expanded to include a variety of social services for Africans and

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these need the support and co-operation of the African community. The Administration has consulted Ngoni and other Native Authorities on such matters as agricultural control, the emigration of women to the railway line, provision of better schools, and so on. In 1948 the number of councillor posts was reduced. Instead of employing councillors for general duties, each of the four councillors remaining, now receiving a much higher salary than before, has been given a specific task, the care of roads, the promotion of agriculture, the efficient use of school facilities, and the co-ordination of the work of the Native Authority as a whole. The Administration has attempted to make these four councillors, together with the ten Northern Rhodesian chiefs, into a formal council competent to take decisions without always referring to the people as a whole.

So far this attempt has not been very successful, but the power of the four councillors is certainly greater than that of their more numerous and lower-paid predecessors. The court clerks have been overshadowed by these new men and left behind in these new activities. Literacy is becoming common and clerks are no longer in demand as secretaries to chiefs. The Native Authority is beginning to employ men whose jobs do not take them to court at all.

The present range of posts whose emoluments are handled by the Native Treasury is shown in Table VIII.[1]

All these posts are filled by the Native Authority in agreement with the Administration. It is easy to show how a large proportion of the employees are connected to the chiefs and senior lieutenants by kinship, but this fact is not as significant as it might appear. The Ngoni possess nowadays what may be called an omni-directional kinship system in which ties of kinship can be traced as convenient through fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, husbands and wives, and by any combination of these. It would indeed be surprising if Native Authority employees could not trace genealogical connexion with chiefs and their lieutenants, for so can nearly everyone in Ngoniland. There is no formal selection procedure but a chief may announce at a county meeting that there is a post to be filled and those present may suggest names. Alternatively a chief may discuss the matter with his advisers and then offer the post to the man they decide on. Occasionally a man seeking employment approaches the Paramount Chief in the hope that there may be a post to be filled. Thus although those who live near the chief, or who make it their business to see him and drink with him frequently stand a greater chance of being chosen, choice is not restricted to these people.

[Text continues on page 153]

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The tenure of a chief is very secure. Unless the chief is found guilty of some crime serious in the eyes of the Administration or unless there is serious disaffection in his county which gains Administrative support, a chief remains a chief for life. For the last fifty years the Administration has complained that Ngoni chiefs are inefficient and unco-operative, yet the number of instances in which a chief has been deposed is very small. I could discover only one clear instance. This security is not enjoyed by other Native Authority employees. Clerks who are found to have embezzled public money lose their posts even as they are punished in the Administration's courts, but the impetus to remove the occupant of a post comes usually from the Ngoni themselves and not from the Administration. Assessors and others who offend their chief are usually dismissed, while at a county meeting men may raise complaints against the actions of an office holder which, if sufficiently sustained, may result in the chief's dismissing him.

The secure tenure of the chiefs derives in part from the acceptance by the Administration that their posts are hereditary. It is interesting to note that some holders of less important and more recently created posts are saying that their sons should succeed them.

Table VIII (p. 152) shows clearly the kinds of activities that come within the control of the Native Authority. It does not show the whole range of social services which affect the Ngoni, for education is largely paid for by the Central Government and largely administered by the missions, while the Administration itself handles a wide variety of services, such as agricultural instruction, control of labour, maintenance of main roads, postal services, and very many more. The Administration endeavours to supervise contracts between Africans and non-Africans, and retains for its own courts the right to deal with disputes between Africans and non-Africans. Ngoni participate with other tribes as political groups only within the framework of institutions supervised by the Administration, such as the African Provincial Council of the Eastern Province. The Ngoni Native Authority is in fact, like any other Native Authority, a local government body to which certain functions have been delegated completely by the Central Government, and which for other functions relies partly or wholly on skilled or specialized services provided for it by the centre. The Paramount Chief is hereditary chairman of a rural district council, representing the interests of his peasants to the central authority and representing it to them.

However this analogy of local government is only partly correct, for the society in which Ngoni now live is not a homo-

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184 geneous or wholly integrated one. It is a plural society, in which
648 as yet the Administration represents the interests, albeit the enlightened interests, of one caste and the Ngoni belong to another. Ngoni share an interest in tobacco booms with their White and Indian neighbours, and they share an interest in the colour bar with distant tribes, but the field of common interest of Northern Rhodesia, or any other major geographical unit, as a multi-racial whole is still small. Ngoni society has not as yet become as wholly integrated into the larger society as have say, the rural districts of Britain, because the well-integrated larger society does not yet exist. Meanwhile the Ngoni still retain a considerable identity of their own, and the chiefs and the Native Authority provide the nucleus for that identity. As such, the posts of chief and to a lesser extent of
[645] councillor have more than mere administrative significance. Native
[602] Authority officials are still bound by ties of kinship to their people and are still the living embodiment of sentiments of group loyalty and unity. They may have a variety of roles to play which are recognized as distinct, but they still have little private life, in which what they do is of no public concern. In matters of religion
[771] Ngoni identify themselves with their co-religionists, dead or living, in other parts of the world, rather than with their pagan forebears. But in political matters Ngoni still identify themselves with Zwangendaba and Shaka and their successors rather than with the British Administration and the Queen of England. They claim the battle of Jericho as one of their victories, but not yet Trafalgar.

There has always been a clear division between the African
202 full-time employees of the Administration and the chiefs. A formal
648 distinction was made as early as 1904 between the Boma messengers, later known as district messengers, attached to the Native Commissioner's office, and the chiefs and district headmen who lived in their own villages. There were also at that time district messengers, later called divisional headmen, who lived in their own villages but received a few shillings a year as stipend and acted as policemen and messengers for the Administration.

Nowadays the Administration employs Africans in a variety
647 of posts, the most important being those of messenger and clerk.
624 The messengers are mainly stationed in Fort Jameson and Fort
649 Manning and visit the rural areas on specific errands or accompanying a District Officer on tour. From time to time messengers are sent to live at compounds scattered through the countryside, where they remain for a few months at a time and act as rural
[693] constables, enforcing laws relating to such activities as cultivation

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boundaries of their own village, and they were afraid to travel even in a large party of twenty or thirty. So no one had any wisdom beyond that of his own village and family. When the Ngoni came they had one law for all people and they had courts to hear cases where this law was enforced. There was freedom to travel in the land where the Ngoni ruled, because they had peace within their boundaries. Therefore, we say: this was the kind of peace we had.

In these two texts we have one major concept of Ngoni law with three chief ways in which it was implemented. The concept was that there was 'one law for all people' and that the knowledge of and enforcement of this law brought internal peace and resulted in good government in the country. There was one source of law as there was one source of political and military authority—the Paramount. As Cibambo points out, the Paramount delegated his authority for carrying out the law to chiefs and headmen and depended on his 'old men and men of repute' to keep him in touch with the thoughts and desires of all his subjects, so that he might adjust the enforcement of the law to bind the people to him. He also called large gatherings of all the chiefs and *alumnumna* and headmen in order that they might hear from him any new laws and regulations and understand them so that they in turn could make them known to their people. In the intervals between the holding of these large gatherings, which took place not more than once or twice a year, messengers passed constantly from the Paramount's village to all the areas of the chiefs and *alumnumna*, reporting to them about decisions taken at the royal village on matters affecting the country as a whole, and taking back reports to the Paramount on what was happening in the outlying districts.

I attended two of these annual meetings of the chiefs and *alumnumna* and headmen in the central kingdom. They took place not at the Paramount's village but at a more central spot for the whole territory. The people were drawn up in a square formation, with the Paramount at one end supported by his 'mouthpiece' (*nkomo nwakusi*), who always spoke for him, with the six Subordinate Native Authority chiefs beside him, and the councillors (*isinduna*) messengers and other officials of his court and of the S.N.A. courts arranged in order of precedence, facing the crowd as they did during court sessions. On the three sides of the square in the front ranks were the *alumnumna* and the headmen of their villages, sitting in territorial groups, and behind each headman were the *mashoda* or senior men of the village, and behind them again the *amajoba* or young men. I watched this assembly of 3,000 to 4,000 people being arranged, as they arrived, by the *isinduna* of the Paramount's court and the *isinduna* of the six chiefs. They took up their places as though on a military parade, and once placed there was no further movement. The effect was that of a barrack square in the straightness of lines and orderliness of behaviour. After all was in order the Paramount

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631 643 692 645 arrived, and there were deep-throated shouts of '*Bayete*' until he sat in his chair. The proceedings were under complete control from beginning to end. After a brief introductory speech, delivered for the Paramount by his 'mouthpiece', the matters for the assembly were introduced one by one by the councillors of the Paramount and were spoken to first 'from the platform', that is from the group round the Paramount. Then it was open for any of the *abamnumu* or headmen to speak 'from the floor'. They did so vigorously but respectfully, and there appeared to be no hesitation in putting forward views which were divergent from those expressed 'from the platform', and questions were asked with freedom.

The topics covered a wide range of subjects and dealt partly with matters sent on by the Administration and partly with the enforcement of regulations emanating from the Paramount for his area. A letter from [744] the health authorities about the incidence of bubonic plague in Southern Rhodesia was accompanied by an order to kill all rats and rabbits. Several headmen stood up and said they had heard by letter from men in the south about this. The Agricultural Department sent a notice exhorting men to take up gardens, and to go and settle and build villages below the escarpment where cotton and tobacco could be grown for sale. Those who went there as a group under a leader, so the notice said, would have that leader recognised as a headman. This drew a number of comments from the audience, some warmly supporting the scheme, others opposing it. The supporters welcomed the chance of earning money from cash crops and of having new headmen recognised in the new villages. The opposers repudiated the idea of setting up new villages. 'Why should we divide ourselves? We have our chiefs and our headmen. Let us stay together' was their theme, adding as a significant afterthought: 'If we go to those hot lands, our cattle will die'. The Paramount had introduced a marriage certificate for which a shilling had to [651 585] be paid at the chief's court when the marriage was registered. Very few shillings were coming in and the Paramount wanted to know why. A number of men leaped to their feet and wanted to speak, and the *izinduna* had to keep order by pointing to individuals: 'You, what are your words?' The gist of that discussion was that Christians had to pay a shilling to the mission for being married in church, and they wanted to know if they must pay another shilling to the Paramount. His verdict was that Christians would have to pay twice because it was his law that marriages must be registered in the courts. There was much talk among the audience during and after this discussion and the *izinduna* had to call for order several times.

Two well-received items on the agenda were that permission had [648] been given by the Government for villagers living on the Portuguese boundary to go and hoe gardens over the frontier. This use of lands over the frontier, both as grazing-grounds and as gardens, had been

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going on for years. The land was apparently unused by anyone on the Portuguese side of the boundary road, and the need for extra land for villagers living on the British side was urgent. The Portuguese authorities had been charging rent for the gardens, a shilling or so per small plot, which the Nyasaland men had paid after being threatened with confiscation of their crops. This prolonged struggle had tried everyone's temper and endurance, and when it was announced that it had been arranged that gardens might be hoed without payment, there was a great roar of applause. The *indunas* gave them time to talk among themselves after this announcement, to work off pent-up feelings. The other popular item was that the Paramount would have his own agricultural show at Ncheu in the coming year. He had asked Government permission to hold it, which had been granted, and he had money in his treasury to pay the expenses. European officers would come and judge the exhibits and the best would be sent on to the all-Nyasaland show at Blantyre. This announcement was greeted with cheers, a number of questions were asked and much talk went on in the ranks.

This account of the Paramount's annual gathering illustrates several of the points made in the two texts quoted. It was the only formal occasion when the Paramount met as one body all those who have authority in his territory under him. The kind of laws and regulations which were promulgated at these meetings were previously discussed by him with his officials and the chiefs, and their presence at his side, facing the assembly, made it clear to the people that the laws came from the Paramount and had the support of his subordinate chiefs. The freedom of discussion in the council gave anyone who had something to say the opportunity to stand up and say it. There was no sense of the business being put over quickly. The *indunas* gave speakers time to express themselves, and allowed time to elapse for other speakers to get up. They were more lenient with the speakers at this meeting than they were with witnesses in the courts, and only once or twice in the sessions, which lasted six or seven hours, was a man addressed from the platform and told: 'Speak well that we may hear your words.'

This method of putting new laws and regulations before the people illustrated the concept of one law for all, and of one source of law-making within the territory, namely the Paramount, whom they saw before them as the centre of the group of chiefs and leaders. The procedure therefore gave strong support to the political structure, for it was only on the occasions of this assembly of all the Paramount's officials-however that all those in authority could be seen together as an authority-wielding group, their relative importance being indicated by the order in which they sat. The procedure also gave support to the policy of political assimilation, for in that assembly of several thousand people, the great majority were not of trans-Zambezi clans, and therefore not acknowledged as Ngoni so far as tribal origin was concerned. They

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were, however, and they realized it at such assemblies, the people of the Paramount, and he was to them the visible symbol of their unity in one kingdom.

The Court System of the Ngoni

The enforcement of the laws as announced and discussed at these assemblies was the business of the courts, where the laws themselves were interpreted and often elaborated on occasions of an open breach.

The relationships of the courts in the kingdom followed the hierarchical pattern of the political organization. All minor cases were heard and, whenever possible, settled at the village level. If the plaintiff failed to get satisfaction, or if the village headman was unable to get his judgement accepted, he had to go with the litigants to the chief's court, and if he failed there, the case could be taken to the appeal court of the Paramount. There were certain cases, such as murder and witchcraft, which in pre-European days could only be dealt with in the Paramount's court.

Some confusion arose over the use of one term 'court' for every type of institution which exercised judicial functions. The Nyanja term used in central Ngoniland for the courts at the lowest level was *bwalo*, literally the open space in front of the *inthumbulo* in any Ngoni village. Nothing could be apparently more informal than the discussion among a group of senior men called together by the headman, on a verandah or under a big tree, in order to settle quarrels and hear complaints. No formal records were kept, there was no clerk, and there was no summing up or pronouncement of judgement. There was, if the meeting was successful, general agreement about the action necessary and about who ought to initiate action. Above the level of this village headman's court were the courts of the *akamxanxa* held at their head villages, and above them again the chiefs' courts. After 1933 the courts of the *akamxanxa* gave place to the courts at the head villages of the chiefs. The proceedings there were more formal and included presenting evidence, defending the case and pronouncing judgement on cases rather than, as in the villages, talking things over and appealing to certain principles to re-establish equilibrium and resolve disputes.

The Ngoni nevertheless always recognised these courts at the village level as an integral part of their system. It was the mark of a good headman that he should be able to settle the minor cases in his village without constant reference to higher authority. The majority of villages under Ngoni rule were villages of local tribes who had surrendered to, or been conquered by, the Ngoni. The headmen were therefore of the local tribe, as a rule surrounded by their kinsmen, and their position carried with it the necessity of refuting local tribal custom, especially in matters involving marriage and family affairs, to the legal principles and procedure of the Ngoni courts. Many cases came before the courts in

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643 all their things. Even when the Paramount agreed that a man should be
682 killed he ordered that all his possessions were to come to him, stock, slaves, wives and children. These were called *izini zenkosi*, the things of the Paramount, and they were divided among the houses of the Paramount, and the master of the man killed got nothing. This was done to teach the fathers of the villages that they should not sentence their people to death because they coveted their goods or people. The Paramount taught them by taking all the belongings of the one killed and they got nothing. Of course the Paramount's and chiefs' villages grew quickly in
684 this way. At the beginning the punishment for adultery and murder was
178 death; in adultery both the man and the woman were killed. Beginning from the time of Mbelwa and Mtwalo the penalty for adultery has been changed. The man who did it was despoiled of his goods or paid compensation. The courts agreed that any man wronged by such adultery could go with a war-party to the village of the guilty man and take what he wanted, but not kill any person. The Paramount took no notice of such an affair.

671 No account of the conduct of cases in Ngoni courts would be complete without reference to the popular interest in and support for the law. After a day in the courts the *izinduna* and the *amadoda* talked of almost nothing else. They went over and over the details of the cases, and recalled former cases of a similar kind and compared the judgements given. They criticised each other sharply for the handling of cases, and such criticism was taken well on the whole, as a contribution to the process of interpreting and enforcing the law rather than as a personal affront. The attendance of the public at the court sessions was encouraged so long as they observed due decorum. When talking broke out among the onlookers, the *induna* in charge bellowed 'Silence' in a voice of thunder. If a group of women continued to chatter and giggle after the *induna* had called for silence, he told them to go home. The
[857] interest in courts and cases extended to the play of children and to the conduct by the boys of their own affairs in the *lozozi* or boys' dormitory. I often saw the young son of a chief or *induna* organizing his playmates into a court and allocating roles to them and in his play imitating the voice and gestures of his father.

631 ### Ngoni office-bearers

622 In Chapter II of Part I we stated that the main element in the Ngoni
645 political system in the 1930's was a ruling aristocracy supported by a
[565] hierarchy of officials. In this chapter we shall first look at two texts, one by Cibambo on the northern kingdom and the other by a big *induna* in the central kingdom, explaining the relationship of the different office-bearers to the Paramount. We shall see how there were in effect two groups of office-bearers, one related to the territorial divisions of the kingdoms, and the other consisting of state or national officials and those connected with the royal village. There was no set of terms which could

be used exclusively for either group, and in fact there was considerable overlapping between them.

We begin with the text by Cibambo which emphasises the hierarchy of office-bearers in the northern kingdom in pre-European days and illustrates the correlation between the courts and the political administration.

¶ The former government of the Ngoni was based on the following:

(1) Above all was the one called *Inkosi* or *Ulikulu*, because they thought of him as the father of the country, the head.

(2) After him came the *izinduna*. Sometimes these were two or perhaps four. These were very highly honoured and the Paramount feared them greatly: he called them *Ibabalo* and their words had great weight with him. They were the ones who gave advice to the Paramount and if any grave matter arose he called them to hear what they thought. The Paramount in his village had also his old men who helped him with everything small that did not need to go to the *izinduna*. If there was word that the Paramount was meeting with the *izinduna* he first of all met with the old men and asked for advice to place before the *izinduna*. And these old men had the right to speak when the Paramount took counsel with the *izinduna*.

(3) After the *izinduna* came the *amakosana*, or lesser chiefs. These were perhaps the younger brothers of the ruling Paramount, and had their districts under him. They also had their *izinduna* and were responsible for their own districts. When the Paramount met with the *izinduna*, the *amakosana* were also there if it was considered fitting.

(4) Then there were the *nkomazana*. These were over villages or smaller districts. Their villages were called *amakanda* (kraals) and they had power in their small districts to carry out the laws and they looked to the *izinduna* for instructions.

(5) Lastly the old men (*madoda*) who wore the head-ring (*zidindilo*) but not all of them; only those who had good sense and understood the ways of the tribe.

All these five divisions had their share in the government of the country. If there was a great court of justice, all these were to be found at it, and took part in the discussions. If fresh matter arose, or new laws, these delivered them to their villages. Also there were men called *amanxusa*, messengers. These were men chosen to run with messages from the Paramount to the *izinduna* or *amakosana*, to go with and return with news. Almost every village or little district had its chosen messengers. All the types (2), (3) and (4) had their messengers. When anything happened, the messenger in the village of the Paramount made a general proclamation and called the *amanxusa* together. When the *amanxusa* had heard the message they scattered throughout all the country. So in the districts and by this way news travelled very quickly.

In the central kingdom one of the big *izinduna* explained the change in their system which occurred after crossing the Zambesi:

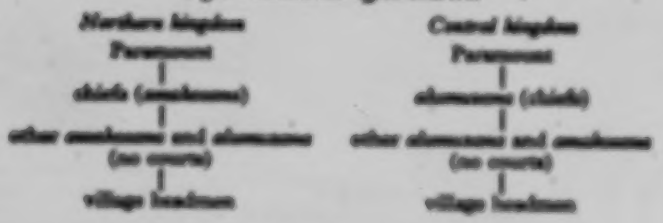
¶ When the Ngoni were coming from the south they chose lesser chiefs and *izinduna* from the *amakosana*, who were the Paramount's brothers,

sons of his father and of his father's brothers. These *amakosana* were honoured next to the Paramount. The *akwesana* were for justice in the courts, and for being the 'ears of the Paramount' in all the country. The change was made by Mpezeni because he saw that if the *amakosana* were given power they claimed to be big chiefs themselves. Therefore he chose for the courts and for the leaders in war and for lesser chiefs the *akwesana* and *izinduna* who were clever and whom they could trust.

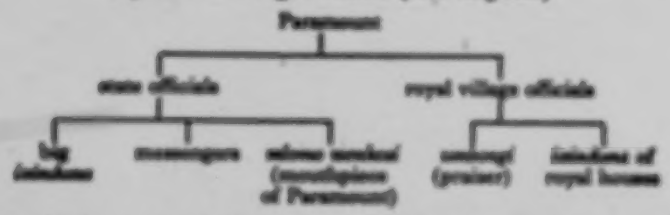
The diagram on p. 99 relates to the period between 1933 and 1939 and sets out first the officials in the territorial divisions of the Ngoni kingdoms from the Paramount to the headman of a village. In the northern kingdom only the Paramount and the six chiefs had recognized courts, the chiefs' courts operating for their districts and the Paramount's court for the whole kingdom. There were two sets of office-bearers who had no courts but who exercised authority over groups of villages. One group consisted of members of the Jere clan who were not recognized chiefs but were *amakosana*, literally 'children of the chief' but used as a rule for all members of the royal clan. Only certain *amakosana* had villages under them. The other group consisted of the heads of Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans who owned several villages and sometimes had authority over a large area. Cibamba put this group below that of the chiefs, and other informants confirmed this as the pre-European pattern. But the informants also said that many of the powerful *akwesana* formerly had their own courts and did not have to bring their cases to the chiefs' courts as they did in the 1930's. At the bottom of the territorial hierarchy came the headmen of single villages. In some cases the village headman had formerly been an *induna* in a large village which had broken up. Some were of the royal clan or of Swazi clans. The majority belonged to the local tribes and were owners of villages which were for the most part villages of one kinship group.

The text about the hierarchy in the central kingdom shows that a deliberate change had been made in the traditional pattern to avoid a struggle between the Paramount and his brothers when they had recognized positions as chiefs. The *akwesana* who appear in the diagram as chiefs were the six who were recognized in 1933 as Subordinate Native Authorities. There were other *akwesana* who were not so recognized, and certain members of the royal clan, all of whom owned a number of villages but had to take their cases to the recognized courts. The division caused by setting up the Portuguese boundary in the 1890's left many of the leaders of the Maseko clan on the Portuguese side, with the result that the number of *amakosana* owning villages and taking any prominent part in the life of the kingdom was very small; and another large group of the Maseko clan were in Dedza district under Chief Kacindamoto. The majority of village headmen in the central kingdom were of local tribes, and their villages were as a rule much larger than those in the northern kingdom.

Ngoni territorial office-bearers.



Ngoni national office-bearers (both kingdoms)



In the description of the annual gathering in the central kingdom to discuss new regulations, reference was made to those on 'the platform' at one end of the great square. There the Paramount sat with his state officials, the big *izinduna*, the messengers, and his spokesman or mouthpiece. These have been called state officials in the diagram to distinguish them from the officials of the royal village. It is a distinction which is one of convenience rather than of importance. The Paramount's spokesman lived in the royal village, and the praiser often did not. But the spokesman appeared with the Paramount on all occasions in every part of his kingdom when he went visiting, whereas the official praiser only recited the praise-songs at ceremonies in the royal village.

The big *izinduna*, as Cibambo points out in his text, were very close to the Paramount, advising him on matters of state, and speaking to the cases in his court. The *izinduna* of the big house and of other houses in the royal village were not concerned with matters of state, but with day-to-day affairs in the village. Illustrations of their work will be given in the next chapter. The work of the messengers, described by Cibambo, was that of keeping close touch between the royal village and the chiefs. He describes also how each territorial office-bearer had his messengers to send out to the heads of the next group below him. By this use of messengers for intercommunication between officials, the *akosana* and *amakosana* who had no courts received messengers from the chief above them and sent out their own messengers to the villages which they owned.

The only group mentioned by Cibambo which is not included in the

diagram is that of the *mashobe*, the older men who were the head-ring. Probably in pre-European days they received more recognition than was apparent in the 1930's after the head-ring had been given up. The *mashobe* will be referred to in the next chapter on the royal village and in Chapter V of Part III on age sets. In the appeal court of the Paramount and in the chief's court there was always a group of these senior men sitting behind the *inkobwa*, to whom the *inkobwa* speaking to the case sometimes turned for advice and consultation.

Reference was made to an overlap between territorial office-bearers and national office-bearers. The big *inkobwa*, the spokesman of the Paramount, and sometimes the messengers, were members of Swazi and trans-Zambesi clans, and often were *ekomkomo* who had no courts. This was a method by which in the 1930's these *ekomkomo* could be drawn into the circle of officials and receive a small salary for their services.

This set of office-bearers which we have considered in relation to the Paramount, with the exception of his spokesman and his praiser, was duplicated for the chiefs in both kingdoms, whether they were of the royal clan or *ekomkomo*. The account of the royal village in the central kingdom which follows in the next chapter will illustrate how these officials functioned in the day-to-day affairs of the Paramount's headquarters.

CHAPTER V

A ROYAL VILLAGE AFTER 1933

The Paramount and his village

For some weeks in 1935 and in 1936 I lived in the Paramount's village of Mapanga in the central kingdom. The central kingdom included all Ndaro district, consisting of 1,092 square miles, a total population of 88,456, and a density of 80·99 per square mile. The village was 300 yards off the main road running from north to south of Nyasaland, and was approached by a hard motor road flanked by huts. It consisted of three main sections: the Paramount's large brick residence and the surrounding buildings within a palisade or reed fence, including the huts of his daughter and son-in-law, and of his brother-in-law and sister; the huts and kraal in the section of the *inkobwa* of his big house, Kalilombe Mbewe; and the huts and kraal of the original village 'owned' by the headman, Lazaro Daonai. On the south of the village was the large open space where the weekly market was held, and where several Indian stores faced the main road. On the north was the dispensary building,

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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643 574 264 day, and so did all the regular helpers in the household. The stream of visitors was incessant, especially on Saturdays when the market was held, and on the days when the Appeal Court was in session at the court-house adjoining the village. Not every caller was given food, but if they came from a distance it was always offered. In the setting of a modern brick house and a Christian household with only one wife, the Paramount had to provide a great deal of hospitality. The old tradition that *ekwanana* and other important men visited the Paramount daily no longer held. But the weekly market and the court meetings, and the lorry service on the main road bringing callers from north and south, as well as administrative affairs which had constantly to be discussed and settled, made the Paramount's house and *bwalo* a very busy place.

Officials of the royal village and state officials

574 643 645 When I lived in the royal village for several weeks I was aware of a never-ending stream of persons coming to consult or to work with the Paramount. Well protected as he was by the Ngoni method of indirect approach and the surveillance of the village and *bwalo* by the *induna* of the big house and the *mlomo mzukuzi*, the Paramount was still subject to constant inquiries from his office-bearers who needed his counsel, and from persons great and small from all over his kingdom who believed that he could help them. Among the village officials the *induna* of the big house worked closely with the headman of the village, and displayed unremitting efforts to see that all affairs in the immediate neighbourhood of the Paramount should go smoothly. They were constantly on the *bwalo* of the big house, or near the gate of the fence surrounding it. These two always turned up when visitors came, and sat on the verandah or in the *bwalo* with the other senior men, and kept an eye on all that happened. If anything went wrong in the village or the compound when the Paramount was away they were in great distress, as on one occasion when a man ran amok and threatened people with a knife. There was a strong tradition that around the Paramount and his living quarters everything and everyone had to be orderly and peaceable.

645 574 The *mdongi*, or praiser of the Paramount, was among the royal village officials, though he only appeared on the *bwalo* when ceremonies took place there. He sometimes came when important visitors arrived if their visit was known in advance. He always came to the big dances and feasts held at the royal village. He was an old man, tall and spare, leaning heavily on a long staff, and many of the onlookers who listened attentively to his praise-songs showed nervousness when he began making personal remarks, for he had a sharp tongue and a flow of language.

Of the state officials the *mlomo mzukuzi* was seldom away from the big house or far from the person of the Paramount. He had married the Paramount's sister, and was own brother to the *inkosikazi*, and his

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kinship links strengthened and facilitated his official relations. If the Paramount went away visiting, he generally went with him, and if he were very busy or resting, then the *nduna nenkosi* would act as his assistant and endeavour to meet the needs of the applicants. He was known on the register of Native Administration employees as the Paramount's assistant.

The other state officials who were constantly at the royal village included the clerk of the Appeal Court, the four councillors, the three messengers, and the treasurer. The clerk was in his office on most days, and when the court was sitting he kept the records. He also came to the big house when important visitors arrived and sat with the senior men. The four councillors and three messengers were all senior men, five of them of trans-Zambesi clans. The councillors conducted the cases in the court and reported to the Paramount, and spoke for him when he gave judgement. They and the messengers always came to the big house before the court opened, and returned there to eat food after the sessions were over. This was invariably an occasion for discussing cases and judgements and the general state of the country. The fact that the court was an Appeal Court, to which cases were referred from the six subordinate courts, enabled the councillors to estimate the efficiency of these courts in various parts of the country. Their private comments on the abilities of the respective chiefs to maintain order and judge cases in their courts were often caustic.

Several references have been made to the treasurer of the Paramount, a title assumed by Ishmael Mwale in view of his financial responsibilities for the central kingdom. The District Commissioner in his report for 1935 said:

> During the year the financial responsibility of the Native Authority was increased: he was handed over the keys of his safe at the Boma, and the District Commissioner only handled his cash for the purpose of checking. Gomani's clerk has acquired or given himself the name of 'Treasurer', and in this capacity frequently visits the Subordinate Authorities to make a financial inspection of their books, and to collect money which is surplus to their needs and bring it on charge in the main account. The District Commissioner's role has in consequence become akin to that of an auditor.
>
> Ishmael Mwale, the 'Treasurer', has shown ability for his duties. Not only is he capable of abstracting the revenue and expenditure of the Subordinate Authorities into a common ledger, but the time has now come when he should be fully capable of preparing draft estimates for the consideration of the District Commissioner.

The treasurer knew the country and the people of the different regions in a way that no other official of the Paramount knew them, and was therefore often called in for advice when petitions were brought in or complaints made. His eldest son married the Paramount's older daughter, and there was therefore a close tie between the two families.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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He was a student of Ngoni history and custom, and used his travels as treasurer to collect new information. He always intended to write a history of the central kingdom as Cibembo had done for the northern kingdom, but his public duties never gave him time.

In making contact with his people and keeping in touch with his officials the Paramount did not rely only on their visits to the royal village. Two or three times a year he toured his kingdom, accompanied by his *mlomo wenkosi* and the treasurer, and stayed at the head villages of the chiefs and also of other *alawusana*. The treasurer spoke enthusiastically of the Paramount's habit of making himself known to his people and enabling them to present petitions to him in person. He met village headmen on their own ground, and *alawusana* who were unostentatiously directing the affairs of their villages and areas, as well as the official chiefs or Subordinate Native Authorities. He saw for himself how his own regulations were being carried out and how the measures for agricultural improvement and cattle-dipping which the Government was promoting were being adopted. These visits in his own territory were followed by visits to Blantyre and Zomba and to the mining centres outside the country where his people were working. He was thus able to check on the conditions in the subordinate chiefs' areas which had been created by the prolonged absence of men from the villages.

The Paramount and changes in law and custom

Through his school education at Blantyre, his membership of a Christian church, and through attending the chiefs' course at the Jeanes School in Zomba, the Paramount stood between the old and the new in the changing conditions in his kingdom. After the 1933 Ordinance one of the changes in administration was that a Native Authority had to budget for income and expenditure in his area. The income for 1935 for this area was £959, made up of a share of the taxes; fifty per cent. of the yearly rental of stores; court fines and fees and beer licences. The expenditure was £832, under items of salaries to the Paramount and subordinate chiefs; salaries for messengers, councillors, clerks and policemen; payment of fourpence per tax to the headmen of the villages so that it was to their advantage to collect the full amount; and a small sum for uniforms, office expenses and such items as cash boxes and handcuffs. This budget for the central Ngoni kingdom was drawn up in consultation with the District Officer by the Paramount and his treasurer. It was a source of great pride to the treasurer that he had, as we have seen, his own key to a safe in the District Office where he put the tax money collected in the area, and drew out sums needed for expenditure in the Paramount's office.

In 1933, as already mentioned, a meeting of subordinate chiefs, *alawusana* and headmen heard the Paramount's proposals for new regulations about village improvement and agreed to them. These regulations were

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
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they acknowledged as rulers or direct sons of rulers. The other opposition came from the heads of the Swazi clans who saw their claims to recognition threatened by large numbers of these *makosana*. When such a person was announced a *mabwanana* might comment to bystanders 'Who is this man? We do not know his father.' Then to save his face as well as that of the visitor, he would send a greeting to him and order beer to be supplied, while avoiding any elaborate form of entertainment. This subtle form of resistance to what were considered undue claims from lesser members of the royal clan was found everywhere.

In both kingdoms the Paramounts and chiefs, especially after 1933, appointed as officials for the kingdom and for the royal village, members of Swazi clans, but also, and increasingly, members of cis-Zambesi and local clans. This practice brought together in the royal villages and in the chiefs' villages men of the ruling aristocracy and men of the lesser clans, to share administrative responsibility, to assist on ceremonial occasions, and to take part on an equal footing in giving and receiving hospitality. This mingling on the official level was one of the reasons why marriages became more frequent between girls of Swazi clans and men of non-Swazi clans whose fathers had been promoted to official positions. The marriage of Paramount Gomani II's daughter to the son of his treasurer was an illustration of this. The daughters of families of Swazi clans were also sought in marriage by men of non-Swazi clans who, through their education, had got well-paid work in the Government or in commercial firms, and could therefore afford to give cattle for *lobola* for the girls. These were two instances of the type of marrying up which in the 1930's was lessening the sharp division in social life between Swazi and other clans. We shall see in Chapter IV, pp. 137, 140) that Ngoni fathers of daughters married to non-Swazi clansmen found a way of keeping their married daughters, as well as their sons, in their villages, particularly in the central kingdom.

Though the Ngoni clan system in the 1930's was, in Dr. Kuper's phrase, 'neither precise nor static', it was an integral part of Ngoni social organization. It was closely related on the one hand to the ruling aristocracy, and on the other to the social hierarchy. Both in the villages and in the national life of the kingdoms individuals belonging to Swazi clans played a leading part in social and ceremonial life, and carried on those distinctive Ngoni practices which their ancestors had brought with them from the south.

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In 1839 Zwangendaba, who had met with Mzilikazi near the border of Portuguese East Africa, fought him over a petty disagreement, which it is alleged was a dog fight. Mzilikazi beat Zwangendaba, who moved on into Portuguese East Africa between the Limpopo and the Sabi Rivers and united himself with Mzarakazwe; this was the year of Tshaka's assassination. In 1831 we find Mzarakazwe and Zwangendaba midway between the Limpopo and Sambesi Rivers.

In the year 1832, in which Mzarakazwe attacked the Portuguese and drove them out of Espirito Santo (Lourenzo Marques), Mzarakazwe and Zwangendaba disagreed and a fight took place, after which Zwangendaba and his following, accompanied by Mbilishaweshiloba, a brother of Mzarakazwe, continued the migration north.

In the following year, 1834, on the border of what is now S. Rhodesia, Zwangendaba broke with Mbilishaweshiloba and proceeded in a north-easterly direction, where at the Sugwe-Kwini River he met the Ba-Lozi or Ba-Nyai, whom he destroyed; their chief, Mzarka, was killed, some thirty miles from the battlefield at Intaba-Zi-Ka-Mzarka.

[305] In November of the year 1835, at the time of an eclipse, a passage was found across the Utwanshe River (Sambesi) at Mangwena on the south bank, nearly opposite Zumbo on the north bank in Portuguese East Africa. At the crossing a dispute arose between Zwangendaba and an induna, Ngabi Mzarka, who with a small following remained on the south bank and, it is stated, crossed over the following year near Tete.

Zwangendaba, after crossing, halted for a period whilst his impis looted the surrounding country; his camp was built at Mkoko. About 1839 a movement in an easterly direction was made, it is said, by Gwana Tole, who was a brother-in-law to Zwangendaba and his Chief Councillor, because, acting on Zwangendaba's instructions, he had put to death one of Zwangendaba's wives for infidelity; Zwangendaba followed. The direction was changed, after passing to the west of the present Fort Jameson, to a more northerly one passing the head-waters of the Bua River en route.

[645] [689]

In 1840 at Chola, Mzelwa or Mzarkwa was born, son of Zwangendaba by his wife Umanse. Thence on to the Rukwa Valley.

In 1842 Zwangendaba arrived in the Fipa country, and the next two years were spent in raiding the surrounding country of the Sukuma and Mafwa.

159 173 693

In 1845 Zwangendaba died. It is stated that he had never seen or been seen by a European, that he was fierce with his soldiers and his wives who, on the least excuse, he put to death, that he was very kind and considerate to his captives, and that he listened to two men only, Gwana Tole and Njokwane. He died at Mapupo in the Fipa country and was buried in a black ox skin near the Nyimbasi River. On his death bed he gave his assegai to his eldest son and heir (by his Great Wife, Gwaru), Nkuta Mpezeni, who was then in his twentieth year.

[766] [428]

159 173 562

(2) Loulowwa Nqumayo was the wife of Zwangendaba—"The Great Wife, Inkosikazi". She was born before the accession of Tshaka, about the year 1800, in the tribal area near St. Lucia Bay. She was Zwangendaba's "great chosen wife" and died during the great

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1859 1873 [547] Zimukazi Lava Ngoma of the Amanga tribe worked for Soanra when he was a youth. Zimukazi was caught and made a slave in 1835, the year of the crossing. Ngungu Ngoma, his son, has often heard this from his father and the chief Soanra. Zimukazi died a few years before his mistress. His son, Ngungu Ngoma, is in the N. Rhodesia Government Service until about fifty years of age.

[582] [593] (3) Chilweya Mkhalepi. This was the first wife of importance of Zongendaba, the Gaika wife. When Zongendaba's mother, Mpamacha Nxima, died, Chilweya was taken out of the chief's house and put in his mother's place and called "the Great Mother." This is a well-known custom amongst the Ngoni. The date of her death and place of burial are not known by the present day chiefs. It is stated by some of the indunas that she accompanied Zongendaba north and crossed the Zambesi in 1835, by others that she was the mother of Mtwalo, but this appears doubtful.

[645] [701] (4) Gwaza Tolo. Brother-in-law of Zongendaba; Chief Councillor and one of the great indunas. Tribe, Ngoni; regiment, Mashaya Inziti. Father, Nzyekwawa (Nyekwawa); mother and wife, not known; sons, Mambambewa and Chibelo.

[554] [519] Zongendaba had married one of Gwaza's sisters. He appears to have been an elderly and very wise councillor, in whom the chief placed great trust and whose advice the indunas and captains readily accepted. Gwaza killed one of Zongendaba's wives on his instructions, possibly his own sister. This led to ill feeling, and it is stated that Gwaza and certain others of his following kept apart from the chief after this affair. He died at Fipa and was buried there in 1846.

159 173 167 (5) Zulu Gama. Father, Njovu; mother, not known; wife, Nzyalisa. Zongendaba married a sister of Zulu Gama (possibly Mambaw Gama) before the Zambesi crossing. They had no issue.

On the upward trek after crossing the Zambesi River to the Fipa country, Zulu Gama left his wife, Nzyalisa, at a village near Kasitu; she had a son by him named Paulos Gama, to whom Zulu Gama left villages at Luanjasi near Mpimbe.

[578] After Zongendaba's death, Zulu Gama and a following broke away, and were followed by the adherents of Mombera. A fight took place near what is now Old Langenburg, and Mombera's people were scattered by this wily old induna. He crossed the Shire River in 1862. He entered Senga and died there later. Chief Ngabi Mawbo was killed by [554] Zulu Gama. Zulu Gama appears to have been a general of high qualities and a sound councillor.

159 173 [701] [645] (6) Nzikwana Ntilila. Father, Mpanga, a brother of Hlatshwayo; mother, Manyawanga; wife, Mtonga Jojo; sons: Kapatamoyo I., Sondwani, Hoye Chafumeia, Chaba, Mwe, Mazwe. A cousin of Chief Zongendaba. Chief Induna of the Zimpofu regiment and Chief Induna of the Council. Died at Mpindika Hill, Matambazi River, in the year 1866.

(7) Ngozi Kumalo. Father, Hlatshwayo; mother, unknown; wife, Bichi Nkhosi. Regiment, Majokwane. Died in the Ufipa Country 1849.

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He

159 was a son of Zongendaba and died after Mombera. After Mombera's death he was
173 acting chief for some years until Chintungu was appointed.
643 (15) The following is a list of indunas and chiefs who crossed the Zambezi in
November, 1835:—Chief Zongendaba, Chief of the Ngoni. Chief Gwaza Tembe, Chief
173 Councillor. Chief Nyhwazu, Chief Military Induna. Indunas: Zulu Gama, Military
161 Adviser; Ngwabalo, Induna Zirombo Regiment; Nomfolo, Induna Nomfolo Regiment;
551 Mgoi, Induna Nzhyhwazu Regiment; Ntabezi, Induna Zirombo Regiment. Chief
[643] Gwaza Tembe was also Captain of the Mochaya Imiti Regiment. Chief Nyhwazu was
[645] Captain of the Zimpeto Regiment. Regiments:—Nzhyhwazu, Zirombo (black cattle,
[701] white spot), Nomfolo, Mochaya Imiti (red and black kids, white spots), Zimpeto. Wives
of Zongendaba who crossed over:—Chilenye Mkhalapi, Great Mother; Nwaza Ngumanya,
[595] Great Wife; Umuzwe Naima, mother of Mombera; Nqutu Naima, mother of Mtwalo;
Nanzeba Mkhalapi, mother of Mzukuzuku?; Chigumazu, Ngulube, Ndanya Mbumbuma,
[593] Mambazu Gama, Vuyakhali, Mazekama, slave wife and rain-maker? Daughters:—
Lomagazi and Mphangela. Sister:—Qachiwe.

A further list of Zongendaba's wives who may or may not have crossed over:—
173 Nthomazu, Buzyamanya, Zin-Khabi, Nqumbezi, Nkhabezi, Ndanya, Maketi.
161 Brothers and half-brothers of the chiefs who crossed over:—Ntabezi, Mgoi, Nomfolo,
551 Mabuzyabuzya, Ngoya, Umkwazu, Uhalle, Ukhongwazu, Undima, Mtiyazu, Lomagela.
593 Chief Diviner or Inyanga:—Manyonkolo.

(16) Zongendaba's sons:—Ntutu Mpezeni, Mtwalu, Ndebenkulu, Mombera, Maulazi, Mwalule, Mwamba, Makekezu Njobezu, Mpezembe, Mzukuzuku (?) Kakuya, Jambazi, Sikazu, Chigumazu, and others.

(17) Chief Mpezeni Jere's (Ntutu) wives:—Nyendeka Mazyopa, Athungwa tribe;
[595] Lapeko Phakati, mother of Tsingu Jere; Chota; Mtonga, mother of Madzimazwe Jere;
Mtinza Soko, Makalanga tribe; Mawuse Soko, Makalanga tribe, mother of Mgwazu Jere;
Malenge Hara, Makalanga tribe; Kukuya Twala, Nunzi tribe; Ntombiyimbi, First Wife.
[727] Eldest Son:—Tsingu Jere; married Nkuchwa. Both were shot in the Rebellion of
1898. Grandson:—Chilesa Mpezeni II; married Augustina; heir, Pontilino.

159 (18) Ntutu Mpezeni Jere was buried near the cattle kraal in Lapeko village near
173 Fort Young, Fort Jameson District, in 1900.
766 Lapeko, wife of Ntutu Mpezeni I and mother of Tsingu was buried near the cattle
kraal in Lapeko village, in 1901.
[727] Tsingu Jere was shot after court martial and buried near Chipingu old camp near
Mwase Hill, 1898.

Nkuchwa, wife of Tsingu Jere, shot by Lt. Poole's troops in the Vubwi Valley; buried on the top of Nsanzwe Hill, near Christie's Farm, in 1898.

173 Other Ngoni Regiments:—Mayungu (Ntutu Mpezeni's regiment); Machilungu,
704 Mavimba, Mahiza, Zinyoka, Mascho, Manyina, Zinkondo, Machona, Mahora, Manyera, Mabema, Kambeyonda, Mafelakudeni, Chimallembalemba.

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barren with terror, till a great belt of uninhabited territory surrounded Ngoniland on all sides. It was sad to pass through this rich land, left to the wild beasts, to see mouldering smelting furnaces, and other signs of lost industries.

It was when the tribe was still in the height of its devastating tendencies that the Livingstonia Mission came into the country. At first the early pioneers were barely tolerated, and more than once it seemed as if they would have to abandon everything and flee for their lives. But gradually, imperceptibly the preaching of peace began to sweeten and purify the atmosphere, and the horrors of these fighting days became part and parcel of a dreadful past. Three years ago a new paramount chief was elected. At the great council the wild spirits of the tribe tried to rouse the people to celebrate the coronation with a great raid. They danced, threatened and raved, but the younger chiefs, themselves Christians, spoke eloquently for peace, and in the end peace prevailed, and the death knell of the past was sounded. And now there is no more settled, peaceable, law-abiding people in Central Africa. And this victory has been won not by the rattle of Maxim guns, not even by the wisdom of diplomacy, but by the daily teaching of the Gospel of Peace.

The political structure of the tribe is strong and conservative. The father of all the people is the paramount chief. His authority has descended to him through a long line of ancestors, the eldest son of the principal wife succeeding to his father's position. In some cases the head wife has had no sons, then she adopted a son of one of the other wives and he became the heir. The chief's power is nominally absolute, and he is surrounded with a certain regal dignity. It is impressive to see the aristocratic majesty that a great chief can maintain. Though his regal robes may not be more than a dirty bit of blue calico, which is not worth fourpence, he walks with a scornful dignity that any European prince might envy. When he listens in court to some great indaba his face is expressionless as granite, with an affected indifference he drinks from his great calabash of beer, and ladles ounces of snuff into his nostrils, while his poor subject pleads with passion and eloquence over a matter which may mean death or life to him. Yet behind his nominal power he is controlled and restrained by the voice of his council. His succession may be plain and acknowledged, yet he cannot assume the reins of government until he has been nominated by the sub-chiefs and councillors. Our present chief had to

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wait for six or seven years before the procrastinating headmen could lay aside jealousies, and actually place him in the authority of his father. Then when he is crowned he cannot sit in judgment or give a decision unless his councillors have been summoned, and have deliberated with him. Many a time in the old fierce days the councillors and chief argued and defied one another for weeks at a time over the question as to whether the white man was to be tolerated in the country, and it was the strong affection of old Members for Dr. Laws, and Wm. Koyi which alone held in the dogs of war, and prevented his councillors from going forth on an exterminating expedition. Yet in spite of the great power of the chief he lives as father of the people with all the villagers as his children. His house is like their own, built right in the centre of the village. The poorest slave has access to him, and he hands his beer pot or his snuff to the meanest villager when he would show him friendliness.

Under the paramount chief there are four great sub-chiefs, and each of them has his councillors and headmen. Then these headmen have each a group of villages under their control. They hear and dispose of petty quarrels between the villagers. Cases in which headmen are involved go to the sub-chief, and cases in which the sub-chiefs are involved, and all great tribal affairs, go to the paramount chief. The tribal council is an impressive sight. Just before I came here I had the privilege of being present in one of these great gatherings of the tribe. It had met to discuss the advisability of coming under the British Protectorate. The great chief, Chimtunga, had sent out his messengers to call to council all the sub-chiefs and headmen. They marched into the chief's kraal on the appointed day, each sub-chief followed by his councillors and hundreds of armed warriors, all walking in single file, and dressed in their gaudiest clothes. They sat round the kraal till thousands were present. By-and-bye the paramount chief walked in, followed by his brothers and council. He was greeted by a roar of salutation, and took his seat. When the case was opened, and the subject introduced, the fathers of the people rose one after the other and saluted the chief, and then addressed the people. The speakers walked up and down, speaking with considerable incisiveness and eloquence, their language full of metaphors and traditional allusions. Then the chief spoke, closing the discussion. Immediately it was ended and the royal salutation given, a warrior leapt into the circle with a war cry, fell

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down at the chief's feet, and with a shout dashed up again and danced a furious war dance. His eyes flared and staring with passion, every muscle distended, he stabbed into the air with his spear, tossed the dust of the kraal about, and leapt hither and thither in a frenzy of passion. All the while he kept shouting his battle-cry, and the thousands of fighting men around beat their spears and chanted a chorus. When he had exhausted himself, another headman leapt into the circle and went through his own peculiar wild dance, and then another and another, and for half-an-hour or more these fantastic exhibitions were maintained. Then the chief rose. A great roar of salutation greeted him. Gathering his clothes about him he walked in procession from the kraal, and the council broke up.

In the olden days the power of the chiefs was maintained by a wholesome dread of his warriors, and the laws were enforced with a consistent severity. One result of this is that the Ngoni tribe has always had a higher standard of morality than any Central Africa people. Some persons were stealing mission cattle and complaints were made to the chief. After a time a thief was caught, and then in spite of the pleadings of the missionary the highest penalty was meted out to him. He was hanged on a tree opposite the mission house, and it was forbidden to remove his body. The hyenas wore a path round the foot of the tree trying to get at the carcase, and there he hung, a terrible example to the neighbourhood, until the white ants ate the rope by which he hung, and the body fell to the waiting hyenas.

I have seen a chief receive news of the adultery of one of his wives, turn to his executioner, and give him instructions, and in a few minutes both man and woman were lying dead outside the village. I have myself begged for the life of a woman who had sinned, and she was spared only after a great fine in cattle was levied instead.

These were harsh and terrible punishments, necessary for rough times. And now when the chief is loosing some of his old authority, and dare not exercise capital punishment because of the overshadowing British Government, one fears that except where the power of religion has taken the place of the old dread, a weaker morality is apt to sap the vitality of the tribe. The punishments were not arbitrary. They were fixed by precedent. And all the past quarrels for forty or fifty years back would be quoted to prove the right of a plaintiff or defender. And now